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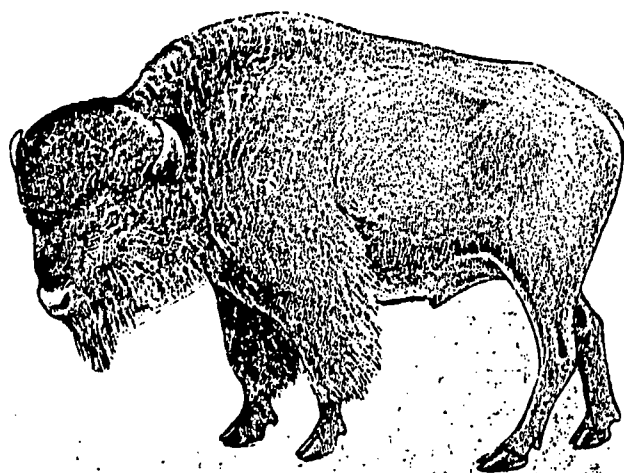
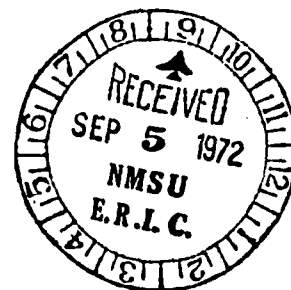
ABSTRACT

The instructional material in this fourth of 6 units is directed to the 9th graders of the Oglala Sioux people. Discussed are the economy (production, consumption, distribution, and exchange of food, shelter, and clothing) of the Oglala Sioux people from past to present, in other words, from the time when a buffalo hunting economy prevailed to the present more diversified economy; the values of generosity, sharing, reciprocity, and helpfulness; the reservation and allotment of land which caused hardship and a slow adjustment for the Oglala Sioux; the effect of Federal-Indian policy termination; the problems of employment; and the needs of private business. An illustration of the Pine Ridge Reservation showing the Boss Farmers' geographical locations is also shown. (FF)

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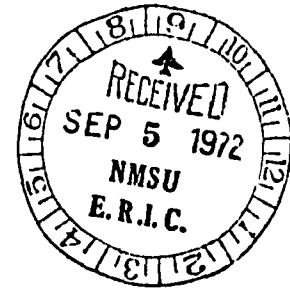
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LAKOTA

WOHILIKEEGNAPI

UNIT 4



LAKOTA WOHLIKEEGNAPI

Curriculum Materials Resource Unit
(Project IH-004)¹
Oglala Sioux Culture Center
Red Cloud Indian School, Inc.
Pine Ridge, South Dakota 57770

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Every culture and people has an economy. An economy means the way a people cooperate to provide for food, shelter, clothing, etc. The work they do together to provide for food, shelter, clothing, etc. is called production. Growing corn, building a house, making moccasins are all examples of production. There are usually many people involved. They all do different jobs. The using up of what has been produced, is called consumption. People eat the corn, live in the house, wear the moccasins--they consume what has been produced. Making what has been produced available is called distribution. Ideally, people produce enough corn, houses, moccasins, etc. so that everyone can consume his share. But sometimes that is not true. There is not enough. Finally, people exchange one thing for another. Exchange can mean trading or buying. For example, I trade my horse for your war bonnet and some moccasins, or I buy a car for \$350. Buying generally means a fixed price and the use of money.

The economy of every people and culture has production, consumption, distribution, and exchange of food, shelter, clothing, etc. But all economies are not the same. They differ with different peoples and cultures. They may also differ within the life of one people. For example, the United States has changed from a farm economy to a largely industrial economy. A people's economy runs on land, crops, animals, machines, etc. Those things determine in part what a people produce, consume, distribute, exchange. Values, the things a people hold dear, also determine production, consumption, distribution, and exchange.

In an economy certain people produce more food, or have better houses, or finer clothing. Perhaps in a given culture and people, those who produce more have rank or status. For the most part values determine if certain people have status and how much they have in a culture.

The Lakota people have an economy. In it there is production, consumption, distribution, and exchange of food, shelter, clothing, etc. It has people of rank and status. Like the economy of most people, the economy of the Lakota people has changed over the years. What was once almost completely a buffalo-hunting economy has diversified into farming, ranching, working for the tribe, etc.

Certain aspects of the Lakota people's economy have changed very much such as the way the people support themselves. Other aspects of the economy have been adjusted to meet the needs of a different economy. An example of this is the expression of values. The values that are at the center of the Lakota people's economy remain the same. They are generosity, sharing, reciprocity, and helpfulness. These values reflect the entire Lakota way of life. They are rooted in the Lakota people's experience of themselves as a people. They are also rooted in the obligations that the people experience and are evidenced in the care for and responsibility one for another.

Generosity is one of the four chief virtues of Lakota society. It calls on a person to freely give to another. This giving goes far beyond simply an exchange of gifts or a give-away. It means a certain attitude towards other people and towards wealth. People come first. They are much more important than things no matter how many or what kind of things. Wealth is not something that one keeps to himself or for himself. It is there when other people need it, to be shared.

Sharing and reciprocity are closely related. Food, shelter, clothing, wealth, etc. are shared things. They are not looked on as belonging simply to one person. That person has them to share. Not only material things--food, shelter, etc.--but also non-material things--knowledge, prayer, etc.--are shared. But sharing means reciprocity, a return. What is shared is expected to be returned. Not right away necessarily but some time. Sharing and reciprocity are based on obligation and right. One has an obligation to share especially when there is need. One has the right especially in need to ask for a return.

Helpfulness really is an expression of generosity, sharing, and reciprocity. It means a man must help others as much as possible, no matter who they are. If he cannot help at the particular time then he makes a promise of future help.

In all these values there is the element of risk. Someone may not be generous, or share, or be helpful now or in the future. Yet one still takes a chance. It is a chance, with good hope of success, because generosity, sharing, reciprocity, and helpfulness are rooted in the Lakota way of life. That is, to be Lakota means generosity, sharing, reciprocity, and helpfulness. This

is being part of the Lakota people, part of the group. It is caring for and being responsible one for another.

Responsibility means a concern for each other's welfare, a care. That does not mean that one is responsible for another's actions or what he says. These are his free choices, he alone is accountable. But someone is responsible for another person because they are related. The way to Lakota humanness, to Lakota man and womanliness, to Lakota holiness is to realize more and more that one is related to all things. To be related to all things is to be responsible for all things. To be related is to be responsible; to be responsible is to be related. To be responsible is thus to be a member of the Lakota people (people, "oyate", means all things). Generosity, sharing, reciprocity, and helpfulness are rooted in responsibility and relatedness.

Economy can hardly be separated from the land. The land provided the Lakota people with food, shelter, clothing, etc. The Lakota people's land holdings have diminished, they are not what they were. Still, land is perhaps the most important resource on the reservation today. Though, in fact, land and economy cannot be separated we will handle them as two separate units.

BEFORE 1850: HOW THE EARLY LAKOTA LIVED

In the period of their early history and indeed until they were settled on the reservation, the buffalo was the most important source of food for the Lakota. In fact, the Lakota economy was dependent upon the movements of the buffalo, the all-important product. Such an economy was little affected by the changing seasons. Although, because berries and wild vegetables were also gathered, some attention was paid to season variations. A buffalo economy was somewhat stable seasonally. But because the buffalo roamed the plains, the Lakota were forced into a roaming, nomadic way of life. That is why reservations for the Lakota were somewhat impossible. The army, buffalo hunters, immigrants, etc. all aided in the destruction of the buffalo and the confinement of the Indians to the reservation.

A. HUNTING THE BUFFALO

A buffalo hunt was usually either a family hunt (tate) or a tribal hunt (wana-sapi). The latter was a

group activity led by the chief and the medicine man. The hunt was policed by the warrior societies and anyone hunting in advance of the group signal was severely punished.

Before the Indian had the horse, which came with the white man, hunting the buffalo was hard for him. It took courage and cunning, but the Lakota possessed both qualities. A typical hunting day was probably something like this.

The stream ran cool and clear among the rocks. The slanting rays of the morning sun shone among the willows growing along the banks.

The land rose to the west of the stream, and from the top of this rise one had a full view of the grass-covered plains. The soft south wind made the grasses move restlessly like the ocean surface. Overhead drifted large, white clouds. It was a fine day for hunting.

In the middle of the morning four men emerged from their lodges and met by a large boulder at the edge of the camp. Each carried a strong hunting bow and a quiver filled with arrows. Over their backs hung soft wolfskins. The front and hind legs of these skins were tied to the wearer's arms and legs. The heads of the skins had been prepared to fit over a man's head, but now they hung down each man's back, much like the hood of a parka.

These men were hunters going after meat, for scouts had brought in the news the day before that a fairly large herd of buffaloes was slowly moving toward the village. The men walked north for a while; then they turned west. They went in this direction to keep upwind from the buffaloes. Crouching as they walked, the men were fairly well hidden in the tall grass, but finally they stopped and dropped out of view. They pulled the wolf-head coverings in place, fastened the tie strings under their jaws, and silently began to creep up on the feeding animals.

The buffalo had no natural enemy and was not disturbed by the presence of a few wolves. In fact, by disguising themselves as wolves, the four chosen hunters were able to get very close to the animals, which was important in this type of hunting. The hunter wanted to hit the buffalo with his first shot, dropping it on the spot. If he merely wounded an animal, it would start running and bellowing, and the smell of blood

from its wound would stampede the rest of the herd.

On this day the men all had good medicine. The wind held, and each of their arrows counted, so that before long twelve fat cows lay in the grass.

Another method used to hunt buffalo was to drive the buffalo into a wedge of Lakota, well hidden behind hillocks, and to stampede them over a cliff. Several such cliffs were found across the prairie, and as the buffalo followed the grass from south to north each year, they passed by them regularly. The hunters erected two rows of mounds of earth and stones leading to the cliffs. They spread out in a large V shape, with the point of the V at the cliff. These mounds soon became grass-covered and took on the general coloring of the landscape. Behind them the hunters lay in wait for the buffalo.

When the buffaloes began to feed at the wide opening of the V, the Lakota brought them within the wedge. This was the job of the buffalo caller. He was a warrior, disguised as a buffalo, who suddenly loomed up out of the grass, close to the herd. Swaying his body from side to side, he attracted the attention of one or more of the feeding animals. Once their curiosity was aroused, the warrior slowly walked away from them and soon they started to follow.

As more and more of the herd followed the first few buffaloes, the warrior walked faster and faster into the V. The faster he walked, the faster the buffaloes walked. When the animals were well within the wedge, the Indian started to run. Then the herd ran too, and that was the signal for the men and boys behind the mounds to go into action. Starting at the wide end, the Indians rose, yelling and flapping their robes. More and more Lakota rose up as the herd thundered into the trap. Running at top speed, the buffalo caller finally dropped his heavy disguise and darted behind the nearest mound.

The herd surged forward, and nothing now could stop or turn them back before they plunged to their destruction over the high cliff.

Whenever possible, the people hunted in the fall for their supply of winter meat, but at times an added supply was needed during the winter. Then the men would hunt the buffalo in the deep snow, if they could find a small herd. The men who wore snowshoes, were able to

move freely over the snow, but the buffaloes could not. When they tried to escape, the heavy animals bogged down helplessly in the snow and were soon dispatched by the hunters' lances or arrows.

Then came the horse, and with it a new way of hunting buffalo. Now scouts rode out in search of the buffalo, and when they located a herd they could bring word to the village in a short time. The warriors were called together immediately, and the hunting chief gave them their orders.

When they left camp, the men rode their everyday horses, leading their fast, well-trained buffalo horses on rope halters behind them. Several older boys, who were permitted to come along and observe the ways of the hunters, followed the men from a distance. Usually the hunt chief and a medicine man headed the column of riders.

When they came to within striking distance of the herd, the chief gave each man his orders and assigned him his place in the hunting formation. Soon every man had changed horses and was astride his buffalo horse, tensely awaiting the signal to start the chase, which was given in sign language. Even the horses quivered with anticipation. No man, no matter how great a warrior or hunter he might be, was allowed to start until the proper signal was given.

At last came the signal to ride, and spreading out in their proper order the men rode down on the unsuspecting herd. Taken by surprise, the grazing animals were flanked on both sides by horses and riders and began to stampede. The men carrying bows rode up on the right of the running buffaloes, those carrying spears rode on the left.

After the charge ended, the men rode back to the boys waiting on top of the hill with the riding horses and changed mounts for the trip back.

Sometimes a small band, away from the main tribe, needed meat. Then two or three men were selected to go out, and they used still another method of hunting. Before leaving camp, these hunters wrapped the tails of their horses with soft strips of buckskin, to make them look like buffalo tails. Then each man took his weapons and a buffalo robe and rode toward the herd.

When they came upon the feeding animals, the men covered themselves and part of their horses with the robes. Leaning forward over their horses' necks, they permitted them to graze. Slowly the horses moved ahead as they ate, the men directing them by knee pressure in the direction of the herd.

The grazing horses with their humps formed by the men beneath the robes looked like buffaloes, and the riders caused no stir in the herd. When a warrior came alongside a fat cow, it was no trick to down the animal. If the hunters' luck held, they could kill several animals as they rode along the outer edges of the herd.

At other times the Indians used fire to hunt the grass eaters. If the wind was in the right direction, they fired the dry grass behind a herd. The flames stampeded the buffaloes into a natural trap, such as a box canyon. Hunters stationed there killed whatever number of buffaloes was needed. The firing of the grass was good for the earth, and the grass that grew over the burned section the following spring was greener and better.

The Lakota did not herd and breed buffalo as they later did cattle. There was no need, the buffalo covered the Plains. But though they did nothing to increase their economic base--the buffalo--their use of the buffalo helped the Lakota be more effective. They made clothes, shelter and other things that were well adapted to where they lived and what they did. This making, this production was very closely related to who one was in the tribe. Women made certain things, men others. There was a definite division of work. Certain individuals had special skills such as arrow-making or quill work. These individuals got praise and frequently some wealth for their work.

ROBES AND RAWHIDE

No part of the buffalo was ever wasted. Hair, hides and hoofs, bones, skulls, entrails and tails--everything had its use.

When the men returned to the village after a successful hunt, the women rounded up their dogs and, amidst much snapping, yelping, and barking, they hitched them to the travois. Then they went off to the hunting grounds, where they began the skinning. With sharp shinbone knives or fling knives, they cut the hide down the back. Then they cut it along the belly and removed it in two halves. They also took

out the meat, entrails, and bones and packed them in the skins, loaded them on the travois, and carted them back to camp.

Winter robes were usually made from the hides of young cows. They were tanned with the hair left on. The hide was pegged to the ground, hair side down. Then, kneeling upon the hide, a woman started to hack away on the skin with a sharp fleshing tool. With short, vigorous blows she removed all fragments of flesh, tissue, and other matter adhering to the hide. Then she let it cure and bleach in the sun for a few days. When she returned to work on the hide, she slowly and carefully scraped it with a sharp bone tool until it had an even thickness all over.

By now the robe was dry, stiff, and hard, and it had to be made pliable again. To do this, the woman rubbed the entire surface of the scraped side with an oily mixture of animal brains, fat, and liver. She rubbed the oil in again with a smooth stone, so it would penetrate into every pore of the hide. The friction caused by the stone warmed the oil, making it go in deep.

Then the woman soaked the hide in warm water and rolled it into a bundle. This made the hide shrink, and after it dried she had to pull and stretch it into shape again.

If she worked alone, she stood on one part of the hide and pulled at another. Usually, however, she had some help. Then the two women sat in the grass, each grasping an end of the hide. They pulled, in what looked like a tug of war, until they had pulled the hide back into shape again.

Then, to soften the hide fully, all the fibers in it had to be broken, a process which called for two operations. First the woman gave the hide a final rubbing with a rough stone. Then she brought the robe to her tepee for the last chore. Rolling up one side of her tepee cover, she fastened a loop of strong, twisted rawhide to one of the tepee poles. The loop extended from the top of the pole to about four feet above the ground on the inside of the lodge. The woman now passed the robe through this loop, pulling it back and forth in a seesaw motion until the entire robe was made soft and pliable. Then the robe was ready for wear.

In the winter the people wore the robe with the fur next to the wearer's body. In warmer weather they wore it with the fur outside.

Many of the robes worn by the men, women, and children were decorated in colorful, painted designs. The robes worn by the women and children were decorated in abstract or geometric designs, while the men's robe decorations were realistic. They were usually a form of picture writing, depicting the exploits of the wearer on the war trail or in hunting.

Undecorated robes, which were also tanned with the fur left on, were used as bedding. In each tepee the willow beds were covered with such robes. They were spread over the supple willow branches with the fur side up. Another robe was spread on top of the sleeper, this time with the hair side down, keeping him warm through the winter nights.

Tipi covers were also made from tanned buffalo hides, but these hides were tanned on both sides. Again the hides from the young buffalo cows were preferred, because they were smaller and lighter to handle.

It took from ten to twelve hides to make a cover for a tipi measuring from eighteen to twenty feet in height. Even when the cover was made with lighter hides, it weighed around one hundred and twenty-five pounds. It was a hard job for a woman, but she did it cheerfully. The tipi and everything in it, was her property.

Since camps were moved several times during the year, which meant taking down the lodges, transporting them, and setting them up again, the lodge covers usually did not last more than one season. Maintaining a home, therefore, was a constant chore for the women. As it took many hands to do the work, men who were good providers often had more than one wife in their lodges.

In their daily work the women also made containers for clothing, food, and war bonnets out of buffalo hides that had been freshly removed from the buffalo. These hides are called rawhide and their preparation was a long, hard job. Parfleche is another name we often use for rawhide, because one of its first uses was in the making of shields. It comes from two French words, parer, meaning to parry or ward off, and fleche, meaning arrow.

To prepare these skins, a woman pegged them out on the ground, flesh side up. Using a scraping tool made from a sharpened deer antler, she slowly removed all fat, flesh, and tissue from the hide. Then, while attending to other tasks, she let the hide dry in the sun. After a few days had passed, she returned with a chipping tool, also made from bone. With it, she carefully chipped off,

little by little, all the thick and uneven spots on the hide. Next she turned the hide over, repegged it, and removed all the hair with a scraper. Now she had a well-prepared piece of parfleche, measuring from one sixteenth to three sixteenths of an inch in thickness.

The containers for food and clothing the women made from rawhide were large and envelope-shaped. They were longer than they were wide, and the sides folded over each other. The end flaps, which were decorated, were folded over the top and bottom flaps, and the whole case was held together with tie strings. These cases held ceremonial clothing or food to be kept fresh for the winter.

Women also made trunklike boxes from parfleche. They cut the bottom, sides, ends, and lid all in one piece. After the ends and sides had been folded up, the corners were laced together with buckskin and the lid was folded over the top. It was closed by tying it in place.

Tubular cases for storing and transporting war bonnets were also made out of parfleche. These cases had long buckskin fringes sewed along the seam or overlap of the case. Still another type of container was made for housing ceremonial objects. It was a kind of flat pocketbook, and the front, back, and flap were all cut in one piece. The two outer edges were laced together, and then fringes were added to them. Such cases also had a shoulder strap, so they could be carried easily.

Beautiful ornamental designs were painted on the natural, dark cream color of the rawhide. The figures used were geometric and the colors, which were made from the earth and plants, were soft reds, blues, greens, and yellows.

Moccasin soles were also made out of rawhide. Often the well-smoked tops from discarded tipi covers were used to make soles for winter moccasins. The constant smoke from the lodge fires made these buffalo hides practically waterproof.

FOOD AND TOOLS

Usually after a good buffalo hunt, the tribe feasted on back fat, heart and liver, and, as a special delicacy, broiled tongue.

Tribal regulations called for an equal distribution

of the game. The man who killed the buffalo, which was proved by the decorations on the successful arrow, got the hide. He was also permitted to keep the hump, or shoulder fat, the tongue, the tenderloin, and other specified parts, but the rest was divided among the tribe. In this way the tribe made sure the poor, the aged, and the disabled would have food.

Although little pottery was made by the Plains tribes, since it was hard to transport without breaking, the women found various ways to prepare buffalo meat.

They often roasted fresh buffalo meat on a stick over hot coals, using buffalo droppings, sometimes called buffalo chips, for fuel. This was the most convenient fuel on these treeless plains. The chips were hard to start burning, but once they began they produced a lot of heat and made a hot bed of coals. The burning chips also gave very little smoke, which suited the Lakota well, for they did not like to reveal their camp site any more than necessary, and smoke can be seen from a great distance.

For boiling meat, a woman made a new kettle each time. First she dug a suitable hole in the earth, using a buffalo shoulder blade as her digging tool. Then she lined the hole with a tough, waterproof stomach pouch that had been taken from a buffalo. To keep it from sliding into the hole, she pegged it all around the opening. Then she put her meat and water in the kettle. Close to it she built her fire, and as soon as she had a good bed of coals she heated fist-sized rocks in it. When the rocks became red-hot, she picked them up with a pair of wooden fire tongs and dropped them into the kettle. As she added more and more hot stones to the kettle, the contents began to boil. Any ashes that had dropped in along with the stones floated to the top, and the woman skimmed them off with a spoon or ladle made from a buffalo horn.

Buffalo meat to be stored for winter use was cut into thin strips and hung on racks to dry in the sun and wind. Some sections of the buffalo were cut into larger pieces, dried, and smoked. When the thinner strips had dried, they were made into pemmican. This meat was also sometimes called jerky. It was one of the staple foods of the people, and they made it by pounding fat and wild berries into the meat. It has been estimated that a young buffalo cow yielded forty-five to fifty pounds of pemmican.

The berry the Lakota used most often is known today as the buffalo berry. It comes from a small, thorny shrub with silvery foliage and is either yellow or scarlet. The taste of the berry is quite tart.

The finished pemmican was stored in some of the large, envelope-shaped parfleche cases. When the cases were filled and tied, melted suet was poured along all the open edges. This kept the air from reaching the meat and preserved it for a long time.

Sometimes the women stored pemmican in another way. After they had pounded the mixture of meat, fat, and berries together, they heated it over the fire. Then, when it was well melted and still warm, they poured it into large, cleaned intestines taken from a buffalo. They tied the open ends of the intestines together and stored away the sausagelike containers.

Lakota women also had uses for many other parts of the buffalo. Tallow, or fat, was carefully collected, rolled into large balls, stored away, and used for cooking when needed. The thick, woolly hair, scraped from buffalo hides during tanning, was used to stuff the Indians' leather-covered balls for games. It was also used to stuff the early pad saddles. The beard of the buffalo was made into ornaments for clothing, spears, and bows, and the tips of the smoke-flap poles on the tipis were often decorated with the tail of the buffalo. Tails were also used as a combination riding crop and fly swatter.

Buffalo bones were made into many useful articles. From the large, curved ribs the women made hide scrapers and the children made sled runners. Smaller bones were made into quill flatteners. The men fashioned arrow points from some bones and used pieces of perforated bone as arrow straighteners. When they ran the arrow shafts through these bone pieces, they rubbed them down to a uniform thickness and weight. Shoulder blades made fleshing tools and axes. The long, thin shinbones made knives and awls, and the heavy leg bones were turned into hammers and berry pounders.

Many of the buffalo skulls were cleaned and used in ceremonials. They were often decorated with painted designs and symbols appropriate to the specific ceremony. The colors most often used were red and yellow, or red and black. Skulls not set aside for this purpose were broken up. The porous nosebones were used as pointbrushes to decorate tipis, shields, or other things made from skin. The curved buffalo horns became decorations on the horn bonnets of medicine men and warriors. Sometimes horns were boiled in water and made into spoons, ladles, cups, and bowls. Others became arrow points.

BUFFALO MEDICINE

The buffalo meant life to the people. As these animals followed the new grass, they roamed from south to north with the seasons, and the tribes knew their routes. Then there were times when they changed their routes completely. When this happened, some tribes were without food, and they faced what they called the silent enemy, or hunger. This was especially hard on the people if it happened in the fall of the year when the long winter lay ahead.

The tribes did have a way, however, to bring back the buffalo and that was to come across a buffalo stone. Such stones were rare indeed, and the few who owned them placed great value upon them for their powerful medicine. The stones varied in shape. Some were perfect balls, a little smaller than a Ping-pong ball, and others had the natural rough shape of a tiny buffalo.

The Lakota did not hunt for these stones; they came to a man when his tribe was in need. A warrior might have come across a buffalo stone in some such way as this.

The buffalo had again stayed away from their usual hunting grounds, and, wishing to help his people, an old warrior went to a lonely place to pray and meditate. He was a good man, having offered up many prayers in his lifetime, and now, as he reached the foothills away from the village, he seated himself in the shelter of a great rock. As he sat there, smoking and praying to the Great Spirit, he heard a soft, chirping sound. He looked about him, but could not see any birds in the air or on the ground. Puzzled, he placed an arrow in the ground and slowly walked around it, making an ever-widening circle as he walked. When he walked he could not hear the chirping, but each time he stopped the sound was again audible, tiny though it was.

Then all at once the old warrior saw it. There among the dry grass and the stones it lay. A tiny, almost white stone, shaped like a buffalo, although its legs appeared a trifle too short for its body. As he bent to pick it up, the chirping ended.

Placing the new-found medicine stone in his small medicine pouch hanging from his belt, the old man hurried back to the village and his own lodge. Back in his tipi, he built up the fire. Then he placed a handful of sweet grass on the flames, and in the smoke from this herb he purified the stone.

Next he filled several small buckskin bags with tobacco, and he sent them with a young boy to a number of tipis throughout the village. They served as invitations to a medicine ceremony, and the warrior invited both men and women, so that when the buffalo returned, there would be bulls as well as cows in the herd. No young people were invited, for only elder people who had offered many prayers could be of help.

As those invited began to arrive, the old warrior took their individual medicine bundles and purified them in the sweet grass smoke. When everyone was present he filled and lit his long-stemmed pipe and passed it around for all to smoke. Then the people sang several medicine songs dedicated to the hiding buffaloes. During the singing of one of these songs the old man had a vision.

At first it came to him mistily, but gradually, as the singing continued, the vision grew clearer and clearer. In it he saw a few buffaloes, but, as he looked, more and more of the shaggy brown animals came into view.

After the singing had ended the old man sat in silence for a long time. Finally he opened his eyes, and from behind the lodge lining he brought out his medicine equipment. This consisted of a section from a buffalo hide roughly cut into the shape of a buffalo. He spread it on the ground before the people inside the tipi, placing it so that the head pointed toward the door opening, the rear toward the fire. Upon this skin he then placed four gourd rattles, still encased in their protective buckskin wrappings. The singing started again; the rattles were removed from their covers and used to accompany the song.

The old man's vision, helped by the power of the buffalo stone and the efforts of the tribe in the ceremony, proved correct. Late the following day scouts returned to the village with word that some buffaloes had been seen, coming from the mountains. The following morning a hunting party went out, and by nightfall the people of the village had meat once again.

If the wind started to blow or increase its velocity during such a ceremony, the direction from which it blew was thought to be the direction from which the buffalo would return. In nearly every instance the buffalo medicine worked.

The men's gambling game Painyankapi was sometimes called the buffalo game or "shooting the buffalo." When it was so called it was played to bring success in the hunt. The game originated when the people were very hungry

and the buffalo were scarce. One of the young men of the tribe sought a vision and a buffalo came to him. The buffalo taught the young man the game Painyankapi, or throwing wands at a hoop. The young man taught it to four good men from the people. They played the game and the buffalo came. After the four good men died, Painyankapi became largely a gambling game. But it too was played to summon the buffalo and have success in the hunt. (See the unit Lakota Woskate for a more complete description of Painyankapi).

The buffalo conditioned countless facets of daily life and thought among the Lakota. They honored it in dance, and in various societies and ceremonies. The buffalo also was wakan for the Lakota and figured in the Sun Dance and other religious expressions.

BUFFALO DANCES

Buffalo dances, given in honor of the slain animals, were performed by the Lakota at the end of a successful hunt. The people felt that if they did not show respect to the buffalo, the animal would be offended and go into hiding. Over the years the Lakota had formed buffalo societies, composed of outstanding warriors and hunters, and the members of these societies were the ones who performed the buffalo dances. In the early days the dances were given to call the roaming buffaloes close to the villages, but later they became social dances.

During the year the various Sioux bands roamed the country, living in camps of their own. But when spring or fall arrived, the bands all came together for the annual buffalo hunt. After the hunt the buffalo dances were given, and from every lodge in the encampment the people came to watch. Men of high rank, together with their families, were, as a rule, given the best seats among the inner circle of spectators.

The dancers entered the circle, led by four men carrying dance drums. Eighteen to twenty dancers, dressed to represent the buffalo, participated. Their heads, from the eyebrows to the napes of their necks, were covered with headdresses made from buffalo fur. Protruding from the sides of these fur bonnets were the curved and highly polished horns of the buffalo. Some of the dancers carried lances while others carried stone-headed war clubs. On the left arm of each flashed a decorated medicine shield.

When they first entered the dance circle, the dancers

moved slowly, acting much like a group of feeding animals. Then, as the tempo of the drumming grew a little faster, the men began to mill about until the group had spread over the entire dance space. Following the rhythm of the drummers, the men now danced counterclockwise, swaying from side to side and tossing their horned heads, much as a real buffalo did.

The drumming then increased in tempo. The moving, moccasin-clad feet followed the beat as it became faster and faster, and in the rising dust the dance ground appeared to be filled with moving figures. Out of this swirling dust some of the dancers suddenly charged wildly upon the spectators, brandishing spears and clubs. The rest of the dancers charged each other in pairs. Head bent, they charged with their horns, as fighting buffalo bulls do.

All at once the drummers stopped beating. Then, once again, they drummed, but now the beat was slow. In time to this new tempo, the dancers started to paw the earth with one foot as slowly they moved forward, finally making their exit from the ring.

The Buffalo Dance was an important part of the Sun Dance (See Below).

THE WHITE BUFFALO

The first buffalo to come to the people was, they say, pure white. The rare albino, therefore, was held to be sacred among the Lakota, and when they found one in a herd they hunted it down immediately. If a hunter came upon a small white buffalo calf, he did not kill it. Instead he roped it and brought it back to the village.

When the hunter returned and spread the good news throughout the village, there was great rejoicing. A council was soon called, and the chief gave orders to have a special white buffalo tipi erected.

One of the old men was assigned the job of making the special pipe for the White Buffalo Society that would be formed. This pipe, unusual in its flat, round shape, is said to have represented a buffalo hoofprint, and it was smoked only by the members of the society, and then only during ceremonial of great importance.

The little white buffalo calf was looked after carefully, and, during its calfhood, it was a center of attr-

ction, especially for the children. Day after day they gathered the choicest grass they could find, bringing it to the calf. As the calf grew older, however, it became dangerous, and finally, with great ceremony, it was killed.

The Indians took the hide from the buffalo and tanned it into a fine robe, decorating it with a colorful design painted on the flesh side. The robe was tanned with the horns and hoofs attached, and, on the hair side, the robe was decorated from neck to tail with a row of shell discs.

By now the special buffalo lodge had been made, painted, and erected. Into it the white buffalo robe was brought, and two of the keepers of the robe were elected. These keepers were old war chiefs, and the warriors of the tribe could gain admission to the White Buffalo Society by making a contribution of one hundred gifts to the lodge. Entrance into this society gave a man the rank of honorary chief, but it did not give him any political status. Many men joined, however, if they were able to afford the gifts.

A giver announced to the keepers that he wanted them to "untie the buffalo." so he could give it gifts. Then the keepers erected a willow frame in the rough shape of a buffalo outside the tipi. Over it they draped the white buffalo hide.

When they had erected the figure, the keepers notified the giver. If he had a small daughter, he brought her along. If he had no girl of his own, he took with him the daughter of one of his relatives, for it was she who would present the gifts. They brought the gifts out and placed them in front of, but some distance away from, the white buffalo tipi, and stood next to them. Then the keepers of the lodge came out, and now the gifts giving started.

Walking ahead with the first gift, the small girl gave it to one of the keepers. Then she returned for the second one. Back and forth she walked, bringing gift after gift to the tipi and the keepers. If she had offered all the gifts at once, they would have counted only as one. Other men might also come forth and give gifts, since this would give them good medicine, and their gifts were counted in the original giver's one hundred. These gifts were brought to the lodge by the small girl too. Although she would be tired at the end of the day, her function gave her a mark of honor, and the man could boast that he had been at the sacred tipi many times.

After the White Buffalo Society had been established, the leaders for the annual buffalo hunt were chosen from

its membership. They organized the hunt, rode ahead with the scouts, and assigned each man his position. They also gave the final order to charge.

If the village came under attack, these men ordered the defense, and their own position in the society required them to fight in the front ranks.

The task of helping the brave men who had been badly crippled in battle or on a hunt also fell to members of the White Buffalo Society. These men could no longer provide for their families, and they had to be supplied with meat and skins. They also needed help when the village moved. No great show was made of these helpful gestures, however. When a member returned from a hunt, he rode through the village in the dark of night to the tipi of a needy person. As he rode by the tipi, he dropped a choice piece of meat or a warm buffalo robe and quietly rode on. The needy person seldom knew the identity of the giver.

The buffalo was considered wakan by the Lakota. He was the comrade of the Sun, Wi, and in ceremonies in honor of the Sun the buffalo's power was present. That explains the important place the buffalo dance and his skull, hide, etc. have in the Sun Dance. The buffalo was considered patron of sexual relations, generosity, industry, fruitfulness, and ceremonies. He was also looked on as the protector of maidens and the very old. The buffalo was chief of the buffalo people who lived under the world. They were the people of the Sun. They had the power to change themselves into animals or men. As either they appeared in the world and mixed with the Lakota sometimes marrying them. Only a medicine man with buffalo power could free the children or the spouse of a buffalo person. There are many stories about the appearance of the buffalo people among the Lakota (See the unit Lakota Ehanni Ohunkakan).

When the goddess Whoopie appeared to the Lakota people and gave them the pipe and seven sacred ceremonies, she left them in the form of a white buffalo calf (See the unit Lakota Ehanni Ohunkakan). The buffalo played a part in each of those seven sacred ceremonies. For example, in the Hunka ceremony there was a buffalo skull altar. One ceremony was called the Buffalo Ceremony. It was done when a young woman had her first menstrual flow. It aimed at ensuring the buffalo's special care as patron of chastity, industry, hospitality, and child-bearing.

But it is in the Sun Dance, of all the seven sacred ceremonies, that the buffalo played the greatest part. Many of the materials used in the Sun Dance came from the buffalo:

For each pledger: two armlets made of hair shed from a buffalo

For the pledgers dancing the 2nd (drag the buffalo skull), 3rd (staked between two poles), and 4th (suspended in air) form: A dried buffalo tail attached to a long wooden handle

General Materials:

A dried untanned buffalo skin with the hair on it

A portion of dried untanned buffalo skin with the hair removed

A dried buffalo [redacted]

A sufficient supply of buffalo chips

A sufficient supply of fat from the loins and heart of the buffalo

A head of a buffalo recently taken from the carcass

As many heads of buffalo recently taken from the carcasses as there are pledgers to dance the second form

In the first four day period of the Sun Dance, on the third day there was a special calling on the buffalo's power to prevail in the Sun Dance camp. A buffalo skull for the Sun Dance Lodge was decorated by the women who had performed the Buffalo Ceremony. There was also a feast of buffalo tongues which was the last feast the pledgers could attend. At the conclusion of the first day of the second four day period there was a buffalo procession and feast. The buffalo procession moved around the camp circle four times and included the families and lovers of the pledgers. It honored the family and love-making both of which the buffalo is patron. After it the buffalo feast was thrown for the poor, the old, and those in need. The medicine man danced the buffalo dance. Certain choice pieces of meat were carried to the pledgers in the Sacred Lodge. On the Sacred Pole were placed buffalo skin images of Iya (patron of satisfying every desire) and Gnaski (the Crazy Buffalo, patron of vice). When the pole was raised with these figures on it a period of sexual joking between men and women followed. After a period of time, the images were shot off from the pole and the reign of Iya and Gnaski ended. To proclaim that a dried buffalo [redacted] and pipe were leaned against the Sacred Pole. Now decency was the rule in the camp. The Buffalo Dance was danced on the fourth day by those who were doing the 2nd, 3rd, 4th forms and those who had danced it before. Those who danced the four periods of this dance became buffalo men. That is, they belonged to the people of the Sun and did not have to pay the price of a wife, would have many children, and communicates with the Sun. After this, the attendants gave them dried buffalo tails and they sat on dried skins and drummed on them with the tails. The Sun Dance followed and those dancing the second form dragged a buffalo skull.

The buffalo then was not only the most important source of food for the Lakota but influenced every part of Lakota life.

B. HUNTING ANIMALS BESIDES THE BUFFALO

Though the buffalo was the most important source of food for the Lakota, other animals were also important to them. Deer was very difficult animals to kill. They were very jumpy and ran quickly. They had good hearing, sight, and smell. In order that the deer would not be able to smell them, the Lakota often smeared themselves with crushed sage. This covered up the human smell. A hunter often had to stalk the deer. To do this he would remove his moccasins. Sometimes he had to crawl on his stomach. Once in a while, it was possible to corner a herd of deer in the badlands by driving them into a canyon. Elk were caught with rawhide snares or driven over cliffs. Mountain sheep were caught in snares or pitfalls. Rabbits were caught with snares. To kill an antelope, a hunter had to cover himself with the skin of either a deer or an antelope and sneak up.

C. BERRY PICKING

During the spring, the Lakota picked strawberries, Cheyenne turnips, wild turnips, and juneberries. Later in the summer, potatoes, artichokes, and cherries were harvested. During the autumn plums were ready. Later on, roseberries and acorns were collected. The Lakota made it a point to be near the berries when they were ripening. So they moved from place to place. After they had picked the spring berries, they moved to where the summer berries grew, then to the fall berries, and so on. There were various methods of preparing berries for eating and storage. For example, acorns were first roasted in a bed of live coals. After they popped, they were collected and boiled. Then they were dried and crushed with a cherry pounder. Fat and grease scraped from buffalo and deer hides was then mixed with the crushed acorns. This mixture kept well and made an excellent mush. Arrow shafts were made from the gooseberry shafts. Cherry and juneberry shafts were also used.

Berry picking was usually the job of the young unmarried girls and the old women. Some wore special aprons to hold the food. For special fruits, like the buffalo berries, cherries, or gooseberries, a small hide was placed under the bush and the berries were dropped onto it.

D. THE USE OF DOMESTICATED ANIMALS

The dog played a key role in the westward migrations to the plains. Before the Lakota acquired the horse, the dog was their only beast of burden. The dogs carried burdens on travois. A travois was made of two poles about 16 feet long tied

together with a sinew at one end. It rested on the dog's neck and was fastened by means of a simple harness. The other ends of the poles were spread out in a V shape and dragged on the ground. Even after the coming of the horse, the dog still carried bags and other equipment. Puppies were always a delicacy for feasts. Dogs also served as watchdogs. They slept near the door inside the tipi and were trained to bark at strange noises.

Before the coming of the horses, the Lakota had to stalk the buffalo on foot with great difficulty, and the meat often had to be carried in packs on their backs. Traveling was limited, and there were frequent periods of food shortage. After the Lakota had acquired a few horses, their way of life began to change. The horse could do the work of the dog, but much more eddectively. It could also carry a man much faster than anyone had even dreamed. Hunting could be spread over a much wider area. With horses, the Lakota could hunt the buffalo with ease and success. No game could escape the hunter on a fast horse. The horse was so effective in hunting that the Lakota people always had enough food. Many times they had more than enough. Horses became the symbol of wealth. Horses were so important that warriors were willling to risk their lives to capture a horse in battle or to steal the snimal from the camp of another tribe. Swift horses helped a hunter to kill more buffalo. More horses enabled a man to move more supplies. In this way he could have more belongings. The going price for a wife was usually one or two horses, or five buffalo hides. The best way to get more horses was to steal them from an enemy or to capture them wild. Catching wild horses was an exciting and dangerous sport enjoyed by the young men.

When a young man's father died, the father's horses did not go to his son. Rather when a man died, his property was distributed outside the immediate family. The young man had to obtain horses by stealing them from an enemy. When the members of a successful horse-stealing expedition returned to camp, they were greeting with great celebration. They were regarded as heroes. When the whole camp had gathered around the camp fire, the returning warriors would tell of their expedition, and each of them would give an account of his individual experiences and adventures to the attentive audience.

The Lakota broke and tamed wild horses very quickly, in a day or two. First they choked a horse down with a noose around his neck, while one man sat on its head. The horse was held down tightly by two or three men at the end of the long rope around the neck. Then the man on the horse's head would carefully jump off, being careful not to get kicked. The horse would get right up and fight, but the men held him. As the horse fought the rope, the men gradually led him into the camp circle. Here the men would wind the rope around the horse's legs and quickly jerk it off its feet. While he was down on

the ground, one of the men quickly jumped on him. The others tied his two front feet together and then tied these to the left hind leg. They let it up again. But it fell down again because of the hobbles. This lasted until the horse was too tired to try to get up any more. Then the men thumped the horse over all his body, especially on his neck, ears, and back. Next they threw a robe over the animal's back. When the horse stopped trying to throw off the robe, then the men tied a rope to the tail. Some of the men held this rope. When the horse was tied by a rope around the legs and a rope around the tail, it was impossible for it to buck. Then a man jumped on the horse's back and placed a halter over its mouth. When the horse had become adjusted to the halter, the other men again thumped and patted the horse's body. Finally they released the hobbling ropes and the horse trotted off with the rider.

The way of life of the early Lakota can best be characterized as predatory. Their well-being depended upon their ability as hunters of game and as gatherers of wild fruits and vegetables. There was absolutely no agriculture and with the exception of the horse and the dog, no domesticated animals. In this respect, the economy of the Lakota was mainly one of consumption. The buffalo played a central part in that economy. Much of the way of life of the early Lakota reflected their dependence on the buffalo. He was life and provided meat, tools, clothes, weapons, etc. The buffalo entered into every part of Lakota life and expression. He was patron of much that was central to that way of life such as the family and the virtues of chastity, generosity, hospitality, and child-bearing. He figured in ceremonies and religious rituals such as the Buffalo Ceremony and Sun Dance.

The Lakota used the buffalo and the products taken from him to help them continue their way of life. Production was carried out by both sexes and each had his particular areas of work. The men were concerned mainly with hunting which took up most of their time, religious activities, and keeping a winter count. The man was head of the house and protector of all property, and it was his duty to make bows and arrows, spears, shields, drums, and rattles. The woman cooked and dried the meat supplied by her husband or brothers. She gathered wild berries and dug roots. She also kept the water bag filled and provided wood for the fire. Her tanned hides were used to make clothing and tipis.

With the coming of the horse, the Lakota increased their ability to hunt buffalo. Eventually, the Lakota became as dependent on the horse as on the buffalo. The horse was real property. This coupled with his durability made

him the natural medium of exchange. To the Lakota all important goods and services were valued in relation to the horse. The price of a wife, of a shield, of having one's children's ears pierced, or of a war bonnet was generally one horse. Therefore, the larger number of horses owned by one man, the easier was the path to economic security and social position. One of the effects of the horse was to create both group and individual wealth. The horse intensified the value of property.

Property among the Lakota was real and individually owned, and there was a definite right of property. If a man captured a herd of twenty-five horses, those horses were his. If a woman made a tipi, that tipi was hers. Children were given dolls, pets, and horses over which they assumed complete responsibility. Their right of ownership was not questioned.

Social position among the Lakota was based in part on wealth in horses, buffalo robes, craft articles, etc. It was also based in part on one's family. The boy or girl who had rich or well-thought of parents had an advantage over an orphan. Social position was also based in part on achievement especially in war. However, the man with spiritual gifts such as healing or visions also had position. But perhaps the most accepted way to social position was the practice of generosity. Indeed, the accumulation of wealth or property for its own sake was looked down on. Property's chief use was for bestowing it on others either in gift-giving or in formalized ceremonies. Wealth was not an end but a means. The ability to give away more than someone else was evidence of individual and family superiority. Thus social position were given to those individuals and families who were superior, who showed in their lives the practice of generosity.

The more one gave the greater his honor and position. This also meant that there were relatively equal economic standards for all members of the tribe. No one went without. One of the highest ideals of Lakota culture was to care for the poor, widows, and orphans. Gift-giving constantly went on from the small exchanges between two people to the larger give-aways that were a part of the releasing of a ghost or the Buffalo Ceremony. Gifts were expected in return, at least a token at sometime. Thus the Lakota developed a system which ensured the well-being of all the people by the voluntary and highly rewarding giving of property.

Besides the horse, the gun changed the Lakota people's way of life. It greatly aided hunting and made the Lakota warrior very dangerous. Both horse and gun came from the white man. The horse from the Spanish settlements to the South, guns first from the French and British traders and later the Americans.

With the Lakota's first encounter with fur traders, their way of life changed. They were tempted now to kill game for trade articles. They were introduced to new foods--bread, sugar, coffee, liquor. Metal pots, pans, etc. replaced wooden or bone ones, strike-a-lights proved an easier means of getting fire than a drill. Cloth was made into clothing with less labor than skins, still knives cut better than flint or bone. The traders made the Lakota's way of life easier, pleasanter. It was a time of great prosperity with many horses. And the traders at least the French were no threat to Lakota land or hunting. That came later with the Americans who did want furs but really wanted the land.

THE TREATY PERIOD, 1851-1871

The Treaty Period, 1851-1871, is described more completely in the companion unit to this unit, Lakota Makoce. It was a period of challenge and stress for the Lakota people. The white man came this time not for furs but to take away the Lakota lands. He had several ways of doing that he used all of them with great effect. Whitemen crossed Lakota territory destroying timber and game and the Lakota reacted by raiding and destroying their wago trains. The government tried to impress the Lakota people with its military might on the one hand and rich gifts on the other. Then in 1851 began the series of treaties that would put the Lakota on the reservation. Each treaty was accompanied by promises of goods from the government and more land concessions by the Lakota. None of the government promises were ever really fulfilled. As an old Lakota said much later: "They made us many promises, more than I can remember but they never kept but one; they promised to take our land, and they took it."

At the same time, the buffalo was being systematically destroyed. The Wouthern herd was nearly gone by the late 1850's. The Northern herd was destroyed by the late 1870's. Buffalo hunters chiefly but also Eastern sportsmen, immigrants and the army slaughtered the buffalo by the hundreds and thousands. The army commanders quickly realized that if the buffalo were gone the Lakota and other Plains tribes had to either submit or starve. Therefore, the slaughter was encouraged and became part of the pacification program for the Plains tribes.

Another policy that was in effect really at all times was simply wiping out Indians. General Sheridan enunciated what many white politicians, settlers, and troopers felt: "The only good Indian is a dead one." That policy was carried out without distinction between men, women, children. Nor did it matter if one was at peace with the government. Sand Creek, Wounded Knee each represents a concrete expression of Sheridan's words.

Behind all of the treaty making, killing of the buffalo, massacres were white feelings that ranged from the Indian should be destroyed to the Indian should be civilized. The process of civilization meant the reservation, meant becoming farmers, meant changing the old ways and becoming white men. In many ways that policy endured until the 1930's and is still not entirely gone.

Under the impact of all this, the Lakota people's way of life was being changed. With the buffalo gone, their economy was undermined. Its whole support was gone. More and more the Lakota people were forced to accept the rations given by the government. They became increasingly dependent on it. At the same time, their lands were taken and each treaty shrunk just a bit more where the Lakota people had to live. The Lakota people were being set up to become farmers whether they wanted to or not.

THE EARLY RESERVATION PERIOD: 1871-1889

The Early Reservation Period, 1871-1889, is described more completely in the companion to this unit, Lakota Makoce. It was a period of transition for the Lakota people. The old buffalo-hunting economy was completely gone. The buffalo hunt allowed by Agent McGillicuddy in 1881 was merely a token to the old ways. At the same time, the Lakota had not become farmers despite the government's attempts.

This period too saw the last serious attempts to resist white power. They were not intentional as much as being set off by the government's broken faith and blunders. They resulted in the Custer battle which as an Indian victory committed the government to revenge. It was followed by the winter campaign of 1876-1877, the murder of Crazy Horse, and the confinement of the Lakota to the reservation. Only Sitting Bull and his band escaped to exile in Canada.

The government labored to turn the Lakota into farmers. In the fall of 1872, Agent Daniels moved the Red Cloud Agency from the Platte to the White River. He claimed the land was ideal for farming and ranching. Actually, it was very poor. It was also hit by drought and grasshoppers. The Oglalas had

decided to allow anyone who wanted to to farm. Previously, the young warriors had discouraged farming. A few women planted gardens and tended them. But drought and grasshoppers ruined their attempts.

Rations were being issued but not in the amount promised. With each new treaty, each new land cession the same beef, flour, and blankets were promised and each time some amount was given. But in the end, it seemed as the amount originally promised in 1851 was being issued for 1876.

As a part of each Indian's monthly ration one live cow was issued beginning in 1871. The military recognized that the reservation while no good for farming could be used for cattle raising. Some did not chose cattle raising. But some of those who lived around the agency managed to build up large herds. In 1885, there were over 10,000 head of cattle on the reservation. It looked as it an alternative to the buffalo economy could be found.

The reservation brought into being another type of white besides the military and the agent, the trader. The Lakota had dealt with traders and trading posts before. Now they were dealing with them in their way midst. The government allowed trading posts to be set up. Some of the traders were honest men who attempted to deal with the people fairly. Others were unscrupulous and cheated the people. No matter what type of trader, he introduced the Lakota to credit. The Lakota could charge supplies gotten at the trading post, he had credit. Perhaps no cash would change hands, the Lakota might hand a check or checks over to the trade that he had received from the government. Often the trader would include something extra for the children, some candy or dry fruit. The trader was somewhat of a new experience for the Lakota. He and other white men on the reservation had a different view of wealth, property, giving. Wealth and rproperty were individual and to be acquired. Giving was something one did little of. Relationships were viewed from a business standpoint which often left out the person. Thus documents and signatures were required. Promises and trust were simply not enough. In all this the Lakota found his own values of generosity, sharing, reciprocity, and helpfulness clashing with the white system or simply not being understood. The Lakota adapted as well as they could but central values such as generosity, sharing, reciprocity, and helpfulness remained for they were based on the responsibility of people one for another.

THE ALLOTMENT PERIOD: 1889-1934

For a more complete treatment of the land transactions in this period, see Lakota Makece. The Indian had been encouraged

even pressured to become farmers ever since the establishment of the reservation system. It simply had not worked, the Lakota and the other Plains tribes had no wish to farm. So in 1887 Senator Henry Dawes introduced a bill in Congress to break up the reservations. It was passed and called the Allotment Act. The Allotment Act had two main purposes. The first was to divide the reservations into smaller pieces of land. The second was to make the Indians self-supporting farmers. Each head of an Indian family would be given 160 acres (a quarter section). It was the same allotment homesteaders had been receiving. If they farmed and worked the land, it was hoped Indians finally would too. Indians had been living largely on the rations given by the United States government. To them it was their right by treaty. To many whites this was simply a dole and not the proper way to live. Farming was extremely popular at the time and this seemed the best direction to point the Indians in.

Before the allotted land could be used, the Lakota had to be instructed to become farmers. They were given the tools and the seed. However, it was not that simple. If the Lakota were successful, rations due according to treaty would be cut. So there was a hesitation. Besides to the Lakota man, farming was for the weak. They looked down on it.

In addition, there were problems with the land. Even Agent McGillycuddy realized the land on the reservation was unfit for farming. And when the Lakota did attempt to farm drought, grasshoppers, and hail destroyed the crops. The land was more suited to raising cattle.

During this ration period on the reservation, all the supplies had to be hauled from the Missouri River to the Agencies. The Bureau contracted with Indians to haul the goods. It was a good, exciting life. In 1884, there were 500 wagons operated by the Pine Ridge Lakota. In that one year they hauled over a million pounds of freight from Valentine to the agency and made \$40,000. Freight hauling and cattle raising seemed like a better way of making a living than farming.

In 1880, the government attempted to apply the Dawes Act to the Great Sioux Reservation. Instead of first making the allotments and then throwing the surplus open to white homesteaders, Congress decided to do just the reverse with the Lakota. A commission headed by Richard Pratt of the Carlisle Indian School was sent to get the Lakota to sign yet more of their land away. The commission failed to get the needed signatures. In March, 1889, the Congress passed a new Sioux bill. It was basically the same as the bill that the Sioux rejected in 1888: money from the surplus land sales would go to a permanent Sioux Fund; 25,000 cows and 1,000 bulls would be given to the Lakota;

each family would receive two milk cows, a pair of oxen, farm tools, and seed. But there were improvements in the new bill. Family heads received 320 instead of 160 acres; each family received \$50 in cash instead of \$20; the price of the surplus land was to be \$1.25 per acre for the first three years, 75¢ for the next two years, and 50¢ after that. A little bait was thrown in for Red Cloud and Red Leaf. The new bill said that the bands of these two leaders would be paid \$40 for each horse that had been taken from them in 1876. This amounted to \$28,500. Finally Congress said that this act had to be approved by 3/4 of the adult males.

The commission was headed by General George Crook. It first stopped at Rosebud and after some fighting got the needed signatures. Then the Crook commission went to Pine Ridge. The reception was hostile and American Horse was sent to delay the proceedings which he did with great effect. The commission finally had to leave Pine Ridge without the needed signatures. The same thing happened at the other agencies. However, enough signatures had been collected to pass the bill. The Lakota lost another 9 million acres of their land.

The allotments set aside 640 acres for each family head. The wife and any single person 18 years or older received 320 acres. Each child under 18 received 160 acres. No one born after 1916 received an allotment. Besides the land, each allottee was entitled to a wagon, a harness, and other equipment as well as livestock and a little cash. This was known as the Sioux Benefits. The last Sioux Benefits was conferred at Pine Ridge in 1946.

The land allotted to the Lakota was held in trust for they were felt to be incompetent to handle their own property. It was not taxed and could not be sold without B.I.A. approval. Most allotments were not ended after 25 years and so they continued to be trust land. That situation set up the heirship situation. An Oglala could if he renounced tribal membership get a patent fee. Many did this to get money from selling the land. The government soon stopped this to prevent the loss of the reservation land and halt mismanagement.

A. CATTLE RAISING ON THE RESERVATION

From the very beginning, the Allotment Act of 1887 threatened the cattle business. It gave each Indian a piece of land and encouraged him to become a farmer. But in the process it destroyed natural grazing lands. Still in 1912 there were over 40,000 head. The cattle raising business was very good and seemingly an alternative had been found to the buffalo economy. With the beginning of World War I, cattle prices were very high

and Indian owners were encouraged to sell. By 1916, nearly all the cattle had been sold. At the same time, white cattlemen were given rights to lease Indian land for grazing. By 1917, several large cattle operators had huge leases on the reservation.

The income from the sale of cattle and leasing land brought a lot of money to the Lakota. They became fascinated with the gadgets of the white world especially cars. One car was worth 25 horses.

The depression that followed World War I forced many white ranchers out of business. They could not pay their leases and the Lakota had no source of income. They needed money and were encouraged to sell their lands. There was much fraud in the transactions.

B. THE BOSS FARMER DAYS

The Indian Act of 1922, made provision for a field agent on the reservation. He was a civil servant and a member of the Indian Service Extension Division. At first he was called a Boss Farmer. He was mainly concerned with the agricultural business of his district. He supervised community projects like gardening, canning, and wood-cutting. The use of farm and range land were his concern. He issued the permits for range land's use and the sale of land. In fact he supervised all transactions between whites and Indians that involved government property or money. All the government goods were branded or labeled at issue U.S.I.S. (United States Indian Service). Indians could buy their own lands or stock but since government money was involved the Boss Farmer had some say. The Boss Farmer also issued commodities. The rations came in bulk form and had to be allotted to each family according to need. Finally, some agents were special agents who watched for alcohol or narcotics in his district.

The Boss Farmer had to make a report to the agent superintendent every month. He also had to submit an annual report to the superintendent. Most of the Boss Farmers lived at the district day schools. On the Pine Ridge Reservation there were Boss Farmers at: Pine Ridge, Red Shirt Table, Porcupine, Allen, Hiesle, Wanblee, Kyle, and Potato Creek. They were mainly white but there were Indian Boss Farmers too. In 1937, their name was changed to Farm Agent and in the late forties they were phased out. Most Boss Farmers were conscientious men. They checked Indian purchases and sales because they were concerned lest the Indian get cheated. They cared for the people's welfare and were

constantly available to them. A short biography of one such conscientious, concerned man who was a Boss Farmer follows.

George W. Colwell

George W. Colwell was born on December 19, 1884. He entered the Indian Service as a Boss Farmer at Canton, South Dakota in 1925. In 1927, he was transferred to Ashland, Montana, the Tongue River Agency. There he introduced the concept of a community garden from which all the Indian people could benefit. It was on a common plot of ground located at the Farm Bureau at Ashland. There was also a common cellar for storing canned goods. He and his wife and later his daughters supervised the canning. In addition, there was a common wood pile. The concept of the community garden quickly spread through the Indian service. Mr. Colwell, as well as his other duties as Boss Farmer was a special agent for the control of alcohol and narcotics in the district. In 1937, he was transferred to Porcupine, South Dakota. He was Boss Farmer there for a year and then he retired because of arthritis. He ran a cafe in Hot Springs, South Dakota, but during the war he again entered civil service and served in the shipyards on the west coast. Afterwards, he retired to Bale, Oregon. He died in August, 1970. (All the pictures were taken during Mr. Colwell's days as Boss Farmer in Montana).

DISASTER IN THE 1930'S

The drought and the depression of the 1930's wiped out everything. It was too hot and dry for farming and cattle raising. Everyone on the reservation became poverty-stricken. After one year of Red Cross aid and direct government help, the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) was established. So nearly all able-bodied men were on the government payroll. After the worst part of the depression, the government tried to re-establish cattle raising. But there were many difficulties. Heirship broke up the land into small plots of land that were too small for cattle raising. Natural cattle ranges were broken up because small parts were being sold to individual whites. There was no credit available for anyone wanting to go into the cattle business. War-time jobs had attracted many of the Lakota men away from the reservation to high-paying jobs.

Even though the 1930's were very difficult years, the people still managed to make a living. The drought forced many non-Indian ranchers to lease land from the Lakota people for their cattle. This brought in some money. A number of Lakota men were involved in the hauling of government freight.

The only crop of any importance was hay. Over five hundred tons were sold in 1930 to the government and the district trader at an average price of \$5.00 a ton. A few men had regular jobs with year-round income such as cowboys, ministers, policemen, or government employees. Many people had seasonal jobs, especially as potato pickers.

The Sioux Benefit Fund helped young people to get started in life. Each boy and girl was supposed to receive \$500, but that was issued in goods not cash.

THE PERIOD OF REORGANIZATION: 1934 - 1950

At the beginning of the Franklin Roosevelt Administration, Congress passed the Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934, called the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA). In order to have effect on a reservation, it had to be approved by a majority vote of the tribal members. Over twice as many tribes approved it as opposed it. It tried to repair the damage of the allotment period by ending the allotting of tribal land to individual Indians. It also stated that there was no definite time when trust land ceased to be trust land. The government realized that there was not enough reservation land for the Indian population, so it set aside 2 million dollars a year for the purpose of buying lands for the reservations. This new land included land purchased from the whites on the reservations, and also land which was outside the existing reservations. During the next 10 years, over four million acres of land were returned to Indian tribes.

The IRA also set up a 10 million dollar Indian Loan Fund, which enabled many Indians to borrow money for agricultural, livestock, and fishing purposes. To help out Indian students, \$250,000 a year was set aside for educational loans. Only \$50,000, however, could be used for college. The rest was for vocational training. Finally, the IRA made it possible for any tribe to organize and establish a constitution and by-laws for the management of its own local affairs.

But World War II prevented this Act from accomplishing much. The war took away all the good men and money. Most reservations didn't get any better during the war. Many got worse.

THE PERIOD OF TERMINATION 1950-1960

See Lakota Makece, the companion unit to the present one for a complete discussion of termination.

THE RESERVATION TODAY

The land situation on the Pine Ridge Reservation is fully discussed in Lakota Mokoce, the companion unit to this one. The annual average tribal income is \$670,000. Eighty percent of this income is derived from grazing permits. Land is the most important resource on the reservation. One of the most interesting developments on the reservation has been the New Careers Project. It is the only Indian one in the nation, in spite of the fact that New Careers would have been a natural for the BIA to have launched a hundred years ago. New Careers takes unschooled adults or drop-outs and puts them to work part time as para-professionals say in BIA office jobs while filling in the gaps in their academic training. As they complete their education they are learned on the job and eventually it is possible to get a college degree and enter professional status. It may be the most successful OEO program in the nation in spite of deep fund cutbacks that only the nationally popular Headstart program has escaped.

INDUSTRY AND EMPLOYMENT:

The problem of unemployment is very serious on the Pine Ridge Reservation. Out of every 100 Indians on the Pine Ridge Reservation 16 years old or older, the following is true: around 33 of them have jobs; about 19 of them have no jobs; 28 of them are housewives; 12 of them are students; 4 are disabled, and 4 are retired. But to understand the problem of unemployment, it is necessary to look first of all at the labor force. The labor force is made up of the people who are able to work, but who are not housewives, retired people, disabled people, or students. So 52 out of every 100 adults over 16 years of age are part of the labor force. But only 33 are employed. So the unemployment rate is nearly 40%, while over the U.S. in general it is about 4%. This means that the unemployment rate on the Pine Ridge Reservation is over 10 times that of the nation. But this is not all! At least one out of every four persons who is employed on the reservation is employed only part-time. So even though nearly 60% of the labor force is employed, many of them are working only part-time. Many times they do not get as much money this way as they would drawing unemployment compensation.

It is not chance alone that determines who is employed and who is unemployed. The man who is typically unemployed is the man who is either single or separated from his wife. He is usually younger than 24 or older than 55 years old. Chances are that he has not finished high school.

Where do the people work who have jobs? Over half of the

work force is employed by some government agency. This might be either the BIA, the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), the tribe (OST), or the Public Health Service (PHS). Nearly 20% of the work force is employed in industry or construction. The Moccasin Factory employs most of the industry workers. But there are many men employed by the construction firms that are building houses. The others are usually employed in ranching or farming. These are all examples of full-time employment. There are also many different types of seasonal employment. This involves harvesting of potatoes and beets in Nebraska and also fire fighting and farm work.

What are the sources of income on the Pine Ridge Reservation? There are three types of income among the Oglalas. The first is earned. This is money that a person receives because of his work or services. The second type of income is welfare or pensions. This is unearned money. About one in every three Oglalas receives some sort of pension or welfare. Most welfare money comes from Aid to Dependent Children (ADC). In addition to welfare, many families receive commodities, such as flour, lard, canned goods, butter, powdered milk, cheese, and so on. The last type of income is from lease money. About half of the Oglalas receive land lease payments which range from \$1.00 to \$3300. But only three or four people receive checks over \$1000. These checks are given out just before Christmas.

What can be done to develop more jobs? Approximately \$5,000,000 is being spent off the reservation which could just as easily be spent on the reservation. There is a definite need for a shopping center in Pine Ridge, and numerous other stores in other parts of the reservation. Store owners might be attracted to the reservation if attractive tax exemptions could be offered. These stores would create many new jobs.

There is a need for a special type of Pine Ridge House. This would be a house which would cost less than \$2000. It would be a house which would be prefabricated and could be assembled in a few days. These houses could be set up wherever they were needed, not just in housing developments like Northridge and Eastridge. To build these houses would require a sizeable work force. In addition, there would be a need for well drillers, garbage men, and carpenters to keep the houses in repair.

Many of the gravel roads should be blacktopped, and many of the dirt roads should be graveled. This would take a large crew of men. After this is finished, there still would be a need for men to keep the roads in good shape.

Public transportation is a real problem on the reservation, and there is a definite need for bus runs, in addition to the school bus runs. There should be regular runs from Wanblee to Kyle, to Porcupine to Pine Ridge. There should be a run from Red Shirt through Oglala down to Pine Ridge. There should also be a run from Rocky Ford through Manderson to Pine Ridge. In addition to the bus service, there is a need for a twenty-four-hour-a-day ambulance service. This could be run from Pine Ridge, but there is also a need for ambulances in the districts.

The Juvenile Detention Center at Porcupine could be improved. Perhaps foster homes could be set up there. Each of the ten houses at the Center could be staffed by two house parents, and they would take care of from four to six boys each. This would enlarge the staff from twelve to perhaps twenty-four, but it would also increase the number of boys there from sixteen to at least fifty or sixty.

There are at least two types of private businesses that could be set up. The first would be an electronics firm. This company would employ people to assemble intricate electronic gadgets. The second would be a packinghouse. The closest packinghouse is in Rushville, but there is no reason why butchering and meat cutting and processing could not be done here on the reservation. Two businesses like these would employ about 300 people together.

In addition to private businesses, there could also be some tribal businesses. One possibility would be a pottery plant. Right now the market seems to be large. A plant like this would make pots, dishes, ashtrays, and anything else made of pottery. Another tribal industry could make jewelry, tomahawks, and other trinkets for tourists. This may seem like very simple things, but there is a huge market for things like this. The Tribe could also have its own construction company. In this way, they could build all the houses on the reservations and any other buildings that might have to be built. There is also a good market for beaded work and for quilt work. Tiospayes could organize as cooperatives, and then they could sell their materials as a group directly to the store owner without going through the middle man. In this way, they could make more money.

Many things could be done which would attract tourists to the Reservation. A cultural center could be built which would have a museum and a theatre. Plays could be put on in the theatre and the actors and actresses would be local people. Tourists are fascinated by buffalo, and the reservation could have a herd as big as the one at Custer Park. Then at the end of the year, it would be possible to have an old-fashioned

buffalo hunt to thin out the herd. Tourists are also fascinated by horses. Riding stables and dude ranches could easily be set up in some of the rugged, but beautiful parts of the reservation. A model Indian village could also be set up. This would include tipis, campfires, and other aspects of the traditional life. To take care of all these tourists, there would be a need for gas stations, grocery stores, drive-in restaurants, camp sites, etc.

Fishing is a very popular sport for the typical American tourist. Many of the creeks and reservoirs on the reservation could be stocked with trout, walleyes, bass, northerns, and panfish. Many campsites and picnic sites would have to be set up to take care of these sportsmen.

Nearly all the jobs that would be created by the suggestions mentioned above would be jobs that would require little, if any, special training. But what about the college graduate who returns to the reservation looking for a job to match his talents and training? It is very discouraging for a college graduate to return to the reservation where he wants to live and work but finds that there are no job openings. The jobs that an Indian college graduate is qualified to fill are already taken by the white college graduates.

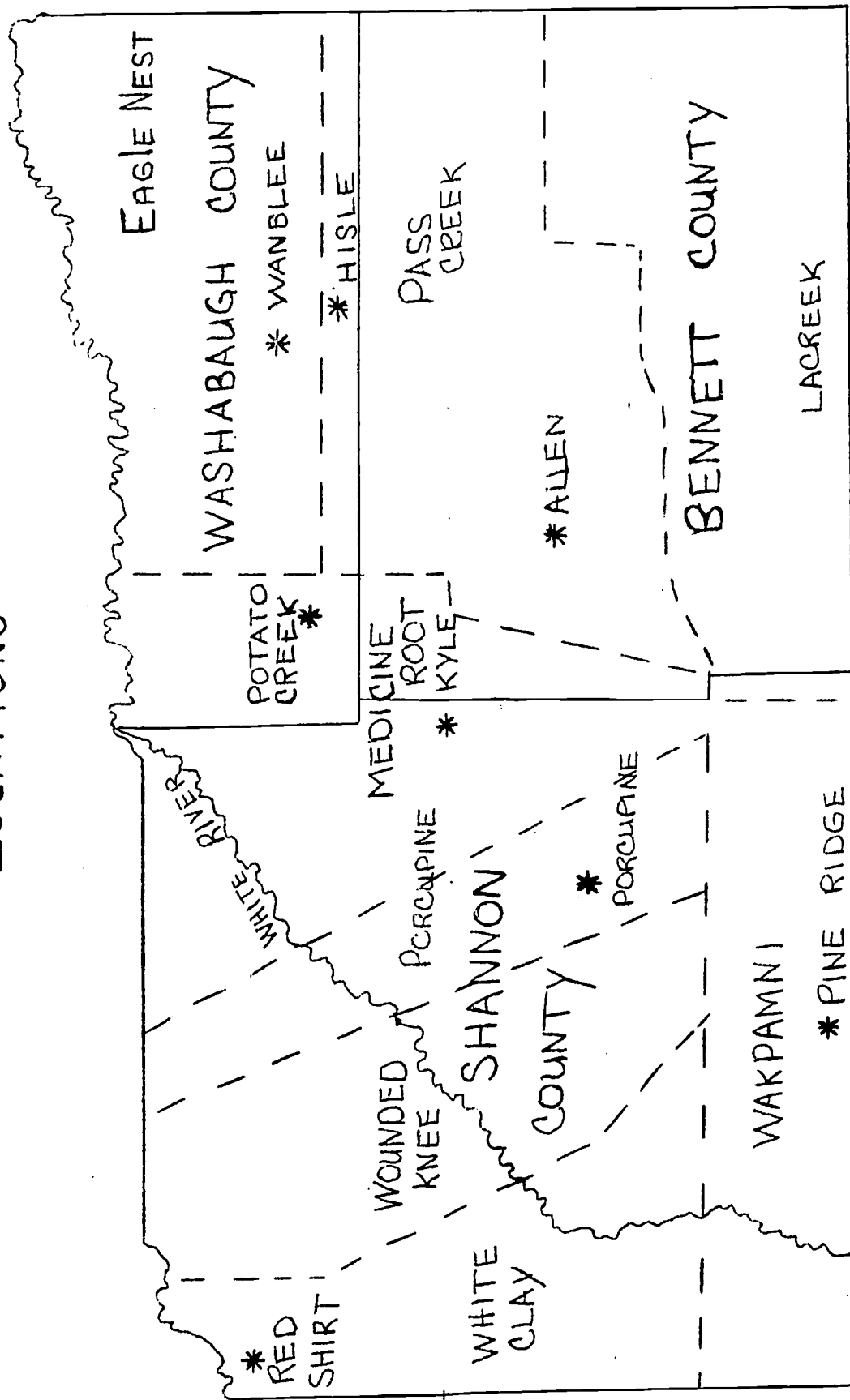
CONCLUSION:

The economy of the Lakota people has changed greatly over the years. It has moved from a buffalo-hunting economy to the more diversified economy, a reservation existence demands. This latter period has been difficult and demanded much adjustment, but the Lakota people have done well by and large. Given the disadvantages and the wrongs done, any other people might not have survived as well. The future is bright. Education, especially is the beginning of an answer to some of the problems that face the reservation today. But in that education, the values of the Lakota way of life must be kept. If the people cease to exist, if there is no land, so too, do they cease to exist as a people, if they abandon their values. Generosity, sharing, reciprocity, and helpfulness still have a place in Lakota life for people are still related to each other and all things. This relatedness is the root of responsibility which is the root of the people's care one for another.

PINE RIDGE RESERVATION

BOSS FARMER

LOCATIONS



* BOSS FARMER LOCATIONS
 --- DISTRICT BOUNDARIES
 — COUNTY LINES